Picturing the Professionalization of Planning in Canada, 1901-1927

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In his 1911 book on the need to address the social problems associated with urbanization, Methodist reformer J.S. Woodsworth described cities as "the ganglia or nerve centres of the whole of our social system. They are the very heart of our body politic."[2] His organic metaphor expressed what he saw as the critical role of the modern city in the vitality of the nation. Michel Foucault framed the importance of cities in a different way, arguing that the modern city has been "a key site for the negotiation of power since the eighteenth century."[3] In Canada, the incorporation of cities such as Toronto, Montréal, Winnipeg, and Ottawa in the nineteenth century corresponded with a concern for social order and good citizenship. By the 1880s, there was a growing anxiety about the state of Canadian cities. Then, by the early twentieth century, architects, politicians, and citizens' groups had all come to view cities as crucial sites of political action and social change. Morality and health were considered conditions that could be constituted in and through the urban environment. Consequently, the spatial organization of Canadian cities became both highly politicized and highly contested. Initiatives to reshape Canadian cities in the twentieth century were exercises of power through which particular groups sought to claim the authority to develop the city in accordance with their ideals.

In Canada, both professional and volunteer organizations were involved in the struggle to address perceived urban problems, such as disease, poverty, and social and moral degeneration. Social reform initiatives, originating for the most part

FIG 1. *THE ROYAL ACADEMICIANS* (1771-72), OIL ON CANVAS, 101.1 X 147.5 CM, JOHAN ZOFFANY. | THE ROYAL COLLECTION.
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II.

from middle-class Anglophone citizens in the country's largest cities, sought to tackle a broad range of concerns relating to urban conditions.[4] Motivated by a vision of a better future, social reformers attempted to impose their values onto other city dwellers. Settlement houses, for example, focused on integrating immigrants into Canadian society, church groups promoted Christian values, and women's councils concentrated on social issues affecting women and children.[5] Paul Rutherford has described the reformers' impulse as a desire "to convert the city into a bastion of bourgeois virtue, where all citizens would live an orderly, healthy, prosperous, and moral existence."[6] A range of professions also had a vested interest in the state of Canadian cities. Many architects were involved in transforming the urban environment by making it more orderly, efficient, and aesthetically pleasing. Doctors and municipal politicians were among those eager to address complex urban problems that resulted in disease, social unrest, and high expenditures; while some lawyers and businessmen sought out development initiatives that would benefit their communities, as well as themselves. To some extent the goals and ideals of these volunteers and professionals overlapped. However, even as this assortment of groups was engaged in attempts to ameliorate urban living conditions, a new profession developed and gave rise to a new form of professional discourse. This new group of planners positioned itself at the intersection of certain key issues which had become central to debates about improving urban life. In Canada, these concerns included slum clearance, sanitation, housing reform, and civic beautification. The emerging group endeavoured to identify a specialized field of knowledge through which they could define their profession, thereby establishing themselves as the most qualified to design and develop the city. In the

process, the work of volunteer groups involved in social reform, women's activities in particular, was distinguished from the pursuits of the new professionals.

While there is an extensive literature on the planning profession, the relationship between the various groups involved in urban reform and development has not been adequately examined. Scholarship on the planning profession in Canada has tended to provide a broad historical overview, or to focus on the history of planning in particular cities, the history of particular associations, and the planning initiatives of particular architects and planners.[7] While Walter van Nus has examined the development of the planning movement in Canada through an analysis of three of the professions involved in shaping this new occupation (architects, engineers, and surveyors), he has not discussed their relationship to reformers and women's groups.[8] A few notable exceptions include a study on Canadian women's involvement in architecture and planning in the second half of the twentieth century, when a number of women were involved in these professions, a collection of essays on the way women's groups affected social change in the city of Montréal, and an article on women's involvement in urban reform in Montréal.[9] Social histories of city planning in the United States have shown how city planning developed from the reform movement, although here too women's groups are left out.[10] Studies of the emergence of town planning in Britain have also demonstrated the connection between urban reform and the emergence of planning, although scholars such as Gordon Cherry and John Nelson Tarn have argued that the focus of early British planning was housing reform, with the garden city as the solution that attended to the specific circumstances in Britain.[11] In an attempt to address the relative absence of women from the early history of planning in the

United States, a number of scholars have redefined what constitutes planning history in order to examine women's contributions to the reform of early twentieth century cities.[12] This article is inspired by the latter body of work, but it attempts to do something different. Instead of focusing on women's activities, it looks at how planners distinguished themselves from the broader urban reform movement, women's groups in particular, in early twentieth-century Canada. In doing so, it considers how and why the planning profession developed. It examines the activities of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC) and argues that the planners constituted their professional status in relation to the ideal of the "City Practical." I maintain that the TPIC used an image of this new urban ideal, which was based on the principles of economic efficiency and scientific management, in their quest for professional recognition. By comparing the TPIC with the national volunteer organization of women, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), I show how the planning profession relied on a masculinized visual discourse to define specialized fields of professional expertise that only they were qualified to work on. This contrasted with the practices of the NCWC, who legitimized their reform activities through the discourse of domestic economy.

LAYING CLAIM TO THE CITY

In Canada, the formation of a planning profession came about through the professionalization of architecture. The impetus to professionalize architecture emerged in the 1880s, as architects became concerned with developing a distinctly Canadian practice. An article by a Toronto architect, M.B. Aylesworth, published in 1888 in *Canadian Architect and Builder*, the country's preeminent architectural journal, explained that

professional architectural institutes in the United States had "influenced legislation and molded public taste and morals, not only for their own benefit, but for the advancement of public interests, notably in drafting sanitary laws, in the conduct of competitions, and the erection of more suitable and creditable public buildings."[13] Canadian architects, the author argued, needed to form similar organizations if they were to achieve success and if they were to win the contracts that, for some years, had been awarded to "foreigners," by which Aylesworth meant Americans.[14] In Canada, the formation of architectural institutes was one aspect of a multi-faceted attempt by architects to cultivate a market for a range of specialized services and to secure the authority to shape the urban environment.

For Canadian architects, the process of professionalization was fraught with difficulties. The Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) and the Province of Québec Association of Architects (PQAA), founded in 1889 and 1890 respectively, were at the forefront of the movement. They were committed to regularizing architectural education and practice, to consolidating a market for their services, and to developing arenas for professional discourse. However, they both struggled to achieve the legal right to register and examine architects. In Québec, it took eight years before parliament passed the legislation. In Ontario, the legislation was repeatedly defeated and, as a result, in 1899 a group of architects broke away from the OAA to form an organization dedicated to the practice of architecture as an art rather than to what they claimed were the self-interested concerns of the profession.[15] The breakaway group, the Architectural Eighteen Club, was more of a social club for like-minded architects than a professional association, and it was founded on the idea that architects should

work for the public good.[16] The notion that architects should play a social role, brought to the fore by the Architectural Eighteen Club, meant that the condition of the city became an important issue in architectural debates.

In Toronto, the Architectural Eighteen Club initiated the campaign to improve the city when it organized the 1901 meeting that launched the drive to produce a city plan.[17] Prominent Toronto architects became active in civic improvement initiatives; however, because of the OAA's focus on gaining legal status and the disruptive effect this had on the association, much of the work for civic improvement took place outside the professional association. The Toronto Guild of Civic Art (hereafter referred to as the Civic Guild), which became involved in the campaign through the 1901 meeting, played a particularly important role in the process.[18] The Civic Guild was a group dedicated to civic improvement, and although it was a community association rather than a professional organization, its members included distinguished professionals such as architects Edmund Burke and William Langton.[19] While the OAA began to focus on stylistic issues, on changes in building technology, and on achieving the legal right to regulate the profession, the architects in the Civic Guild became familiar with an international discourse of civic improvement and planning and struggled to establish themselves as key figures in planning the city. Because of these circumstances, the professionalization of architects and the push for city planning in Toronto, in particular, became intertwined, with debates about the city itself at the core of both struggles.

Following the launch of civic improvement campaigns at the beginning of the twentieth century, architects in Toronto and Montréal began to promote the concept

of comprehensive planning. A comprehensive plan was one that developed a vision for the city, taking into account its current circumstances as well as its future growth.[20] This approach was contrasted with "piecemeal" development, which was the term architects used to refer to initiatives aimed at addressing specific problems without considering the effect on the city as a whole. Projects considered "piecemeal" included the routine activities of municipal works departments, like widening roads, but the designation also incorporated ventures such as those popular with women's groups, for example building playgrounds for children.[21] Comprehensive planning required specialized knowledge and therefore could only be done by experts. While this was a way for architects to advance their claim for jurisdiction over planning initiatives in their cities, others, including women's groups and religious organizations, supported the architects and also pushed for that approach.[22]

Local debates over civic improvement in Canadian cities virtually came to a halt during the First World War. The Civic Guild's *Monthly Bulletin* ceased production because there were few subscribers and because new development schemes for the city would clearly not be put into effect.[23] Toronto City Council withdrew its limited support for planning by eliminating funding for the preparation of topographical plans by the City Surveyor.[24] In 1914, however, the Commission of Conservation, a federal agency formed in 1909 to manage the country's natural resources, established a Town Planning Branch.[25] When the well-known Scottish planner Thomas Adams was appointed as advisor, much of the debate over planning shifted from the local to the national level. As Walter van Nus notes, Adams sought to unite local planning groups in order to more effectively pressure governments at all levels to

support city planning.[26] At that point, the professionalization of architects and town planners took different paths.

For architects in Ontario, the OAA played a key role in the continued fight for legal status and in the public perception of their profession. An advertisement for the OAA emphasized the skilled nature of their professional services:

> In these days of intense competition in the business world, the man who is to succeed must concentrate every thought upon his own particular field of endeavor [...] when the need arises for building a factory, office building, or residence, the prospective owner finds himself lacking in that specialized knowledge of building methods so necessary to the attainment of successful results [...] An Architect is the one man best qualified for this important job.[27]

Specialized knowledge, acquired through training and experience, was what distinguished "an Architect" from anyone else who might get involved in building.

For those concerned with planning, a group that increasingly included surveyors and engineers as well as architects, a national organization dedicated to planning seemed necessary. A planning association was both a way to promote a new field of work and a way to gain control over Canadian planning and the improvement of civic life from a whole range of others, including municipal politicians, Americans, and women's groups. Noulan Cauchon, who became a famous Canadian planner and president of the TPIC, argued that a professional organization of Canadian town planners was necessary so that when governments recognized the need for planning, Canadians, rather than Americans, would be hired to do the work.[28] Planners wanted to improve the aesthetic and functionality of the city

on a broad scale, and they had to convince city councillors, who were largely responsible for the decisions that affected urban development, that they were much more qualified than municipal politicians to make these decisions. Walter van Nus maintains that another key reason for professionalization is that there were insufficient employment opportunities for architects, engineers, and surveyors and that planning presented a new domain with the promise of lucrative and rewarding employment.[29] With the formation of the TPIC, a national institute dedicated to town planning, planners strove to establish a professional status and identity that distinguished their practice from that of other groups involved in urban reform.

GENDER AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

By comparing the way two national organizations—the TPIC and the NCWC—defined themselves, we can see the important role of gender conventions in the professionalization of planning and in differentiating professional planners from the reform movement. While the two groups shared many of the same concerns, including the implementation of comprehensive plans, the elimination of slum areas, and the provision of sanitary housing for the poor, the way they set about affecting change was influenced by early twentieth-century beliefs about the innate characteristics of men and women. Whereas rationality and science were seen as masculine traits, emotion and empathy were understood as feminine.

As Magali Sarfatti Larson describes it, professionalization is the process by which the producers of specialized services seek "to constitute and control a market for their expertise."[30] Andrew Abbott's study of professionalism looks at the way different groups control knowledge and skill, and

argues that one of the key features of a profession is the creation of a "knowledge system governed by abstractions" that defines the work of that particular profession.[31] Abbott claims that professions have been able to establish their monopoly over a field through the abstract concepts they use to formulate and communicate their specialized knowledge. Rationality and efficiency, which became important values for legitimizing a range of professions in the early twentieth century,[32] were core principles that came to define the new planning profession.

At their seventh annual convention in Vancouver in 1927, the members of the TPIC assembled for a photograph (fig. 2). With two exceptions, the seventy-two people in the TPIC portrait are men. The men are dressed in suits and ties, holding their hats in their hands. The two women, towards the centre of the frame in the second row from the bottom, are on either side of a central man who, conventionally, must be the presiding official. The women, distinguishable because their heads are covered and they lack the ties and moustaches worn by most of the men, have not been excluded from the organization, yet their small number marks them as exceptions. Taken at the height of the TPIC's influence, the group portrait signalled the planners' success at formulating and consolidating a professional community. Association membership was on the rise, and the planners had gathered at their annual convention to discuss current concerns, to review recent activities, and to commit to the work of the coming year.[33] The portrait shows that the new profession was dominated by men, and the image was one of the ways the planners negotiated their professional status and identity.

Recalling Johan Zoffany's 1771-1772 group portrait of the British Royal Academy, the

photographic portrait of the TPIC demonstrates that women were of minor significance in the planning profession (fig. 1). Zoffany's painting depicts members of the Royal Academy gathered in a room as one of the artists arranges a nude male model. Because academic training was based on the study of nude models, and women were not allowed access to that form of education, the two female members were not included in the room. Instead, they appear as painted portraits on the wall.[34] Both female members were acclaimed painters who were involved in the formation of the Academy, and one of them, Mary Moser, was the daughter of the Academy's first keeper, George Moser. Similarly, although the two women in the TPIC group portrait are not identified, it is likely that they are wives of male members of the organization. In the same way that Zoffany's portrait legitimized the Academy and institutionalized its practices (including the exclusion of women from certain key forms of training), the TPIC portrait established the professional status and authority of the TPIC.

The TPIC was established as a professional organization in 1919, bringing together architects, engineers, and surveyors interested in the planning movement.[35] Drawing on ideals of city planning and urban reform from Britain and the United States, the TPIC defined its practice as "the scientific and orderly disposition of land and buildings in use and development with a view to obviating congestion and securing economic and social efficiency, [and] health and well-being in urban and rural communities."[36] By using terms from British and American planning to describe its purpose, the TPIC situated its own vision of town planning in relation to an international professional practice. Its choice of the term "town planning" rather than "city planning" showed a rejection of the aestheticism and grandeur of the

FIG. 2. *TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF CANADA AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA,* MAY 26-28, 1927, PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN. | NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA, CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS FONDS, MG28-I275. REPRODUCED IN *JOURNAL OF THE TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF CANADA*, VOL. 6, NO. 4, AUGUST 1927.

FIG. 3. *THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CANADA, KING EDWARD HOTEL, TORONTO,* OCTOBER 8-15, 1924, PHOTOGRAPH BY THE PANORAMIC CAMERA COMPANY. | LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CANADA COLLECTION, PA-122571.

"City Beautiful" movement, identified as an American style of planning that, certainly by 1919, was regarded by many as expensive and excessive, particularly for Canadian circumstances.[37] The term "town planning" instead showed an alliance with the principles of the British planning tradition, with its emphasis on garden cities and suburbs. However, the TPIC's reference to "economic and social efficiency" distinguished the Canadian practice from the anti-industrialist and socialist inclinations of Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City."[38] Canadian town planners thus identified their relation to an international movement through the name they selected for their professional association. Their choice aligned the Canadian profession with both social ideals and a scientific approach to planning.

One of the main ways that the town planners established an organization with restricted membership was by defining and examining the professional qualifications of TPIC's members. With the Town

Planning Institute of Canada Act of 1923, the TPIC set out to test candidates in the theory and practice of planning before granting admission to membership in the organization.[39] By regulating membership according to qualifications, members were accepted based on specialized knowledge and skills, which were difficult for women to obtain. As they became a self-regulating body with a clear mandate, the TPIC established standards and protocols that governed its operation and regulated the practices of its members.

In another group portrait, members of the NCWC sit in front of the King Edward Hotel in Toronto in 1924 on the occasion of their thirty-first annual meeting (fig. 3). The group is made up of women, but two men, likely local officials, stand apart from the group at the back and on the right. Once a year at the annual convention, members of the National Council of Women would gather as a collective to have a group portrait taken. It sometimes took place in front of a hotel,

as in 1924, and sometimes on the steps of a local community-gathering place, such as a church. The customary group portrait marked both the members' attachment to and distinction from the wider community.[40]

The NCWC was a women's organization dedicated to the betterment of society, with a particular focus on women and children. Founded in 1893, the Council took the form of a representative and advisory body, whose goal was to promote the influence of women in society and to encourage and coordinate useful social action. The first president of the Canadian Council, Lady Aberdeen, articulated the logic of the council in her 1896 presidential address. In her lecture, she linked middle- and upper-class women's roles as wives and managers of the home to their ability and duty to undertake reform work in a larger social sphere.[41] She explained:

[W]oman's first mission and glory lies in the right fulfillment of her duties in the home. [Women] have joined this Council because they not only believe that it will not hinder them in these duties but that it will help them to rightly fulfill them, although with a higher aim and broader understanding and broader aim than ever before [...] You tell us that we are queens of our homes—you tell us that you believe that in the strength of the homes of Canada lies the strength of the nation—you grant that that home is strongest where love reigns supremest. We are acting on that principle, but are asking to be allowed to take it a few steps further. The principle at which we aim is the making of this love supreme not only in the home but in Society, in Custom and in Law, and we claim that it is our mission as women to do what we can thus to apply it in a practical way we see open to us, in co-operation with you, gentlemen, for be sure, we shall never be so rash as to try to do it without you.[42]

The use of a domestic analogy to extend the realm of suitable action for women has since been labelled maternal feminism.[43] Thus, the Council's claim to engage in urban reform was based on the gendered, but supposedly natural female characteristics of compassion, sympathy, and sentiment, and what feminist historian Naomi Griffiths has called the idea of "organized philanthropy."[44] While the TPIC used a masculinized discourse of science, the NCWC justified their intervention in urban issues through the feminized discourse of domestic economy.

Members of the TPIC were careful to distinguish their own efforts at social reform from the issues and activities that concerned the NCWC and other women's groups. At the time the group portrait of the TPIC was taken, women had only recently been accepted into the emerging field of town planning, and their place in the profession was marginal, at best.[45] According to an article in the journal of the TPIC, the appropriate place for "the influence and activity of women" was in welfare work and in raising public awareness of the benefits of planning.[46] The author explained: "while the physical part of town planning [...] lies in the hands of men, the philosophic basis of the movement is throbbing with that social passion which has built up the thousands of welfare societies that are the special creation of women."[47] While men were seen as providing the technical expertise of planning, women were seen as supplying the compassion and their activities were heralded as an extension of town planning work. Although both the TPIC and the NCWC were concerned with social reform and civic improvement, they defined themselves in disparate ways, and they approached their missions very differently.

The town planners distinguished themselves from other organizations involved in civic improvement and social reform, including women's groups, through their scientific and technical orientation. The TPIC identified themselves as professionals who were concerned with efficiency and guided by science. When the institute was incorporated in 1923, its mandate was described in the following terms:

(a) to facilitate the acquirement and interchange of professional knowledge among its members, (b) to promote professional interests, (c) to encourage original research, (d) to develop and maintain high standards in the Town Planning profession, and (e) to enhance the usefulness of the profession to the public.[48]

The TPIC was motivated by a desire to develop professional qualifications, which included producing new knowledge and communicating that knowledge to other professionals. The TPIC also aimed to enhance the role of town planners and augment the status of its members. In contrast, the NCWC emphasized the apparently innate maternal qualities of its members and their ability to extend these nurturing instincts to society. The collective identities of the two groups were defined, in part, by their gendered difference from each other.

In addition to regulatory mechanisms and scientific and technical knowledge, the TPIC relied on public relations campaigns as valuable tools in gaining recognition for the profession. The TPIC acknowledged the importance of establishing public support for their objectives and promoting the interests of the organization.[49] From early on, members presented illustrated educational lectures to the public and to various societies and clubs as a means of creating a foundation for their work. In one instance, renowned architect and planner Percy Nobbs delivered a lecture on housing and health to

the Women's Art Society of Montréal in 1922.[50] On another occasion, a large exhibition was held in conjunction with the Town Planning Institute's annual conference in Montréal in 1926, which was described as providing "educational and inspirational value to the public and the profession."[51] At this exhibition, an array of plans, drawings, models, and other exhibits were presented to professionals and the public alike to demonstrate the kinds of improvements planning could provide. At another, much smaller-scale exhibition, planning materials were displayed by the Vancouver Town Planning Commission in the window of the Hudson's Bay Company as "a means of informing the public as to what was intended and what was going on in Town Planning."[52] A photograph of the display (fig. 4), published in the December 1928 issue of the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, was captioned: "This was but one of the many means adopted to this end and such means have assisted greatly in educating the public to the wisdom of accepting the findings and proposals of the Town Planning Commission."[53] Visual displays were viewed as one of the most effective instruments for communicating with and convincing both the public and various levels of government of the value and mechanisms of planning.

In 1927, the Town Planning Institute continued to define itself in relation to its technical roots, but it increasingly emphasized its educational and publicity work. The presidential address at the 1927 conference, given by TPIC President Horace Seymour and published in the journal, focused on the TPIC's function in Canada and the progress of the planning movement. Initially organized along the lines of the British Town Planning Institute and the American City Planning Institute, the TPIC, Seymour explained, had a technical basis. However, its scope had widened to

become more promotional in nature, so that it combined its technical orientation with a public focus.[54] Seymour suggested that in order to build support for planning, the TPIC should take on more educational and publicity work.[55] It was always clear, however, that the work of planning was, in an essential way, technical and rooted in science.[56]

For the TPIC, attempts to negotiate authority over planning issues focused on consolidating a distinct, specialized body of knowledge that was restricted to the planning profession, and this expert status was worked out, in part, through the journal. The journal, along with meetings, conferences, and exhibitions, offered an arena for dialogue and information exchange between members and it played a key role in communicating the current concerns, debates, and ideas on planning to a national readership, as well as to a small, specialized international audience. It is no coincidence then that the group portrait of the TPIC at their 1927 annual convention was published in the journal. The TPIC journal readership was mainly comprised of members of the Institute, and the group portrait, published as a two-page spread, worked to consolidate a collective identity that would inspire its members to push forward with the TPIC's important work. By putting a public face on the professional institute, the portrait allowed members to demonstrate their belonging and legitimize their professional identity. Through the production and publication of the photograph, the town planners became at once the handlers and the subjects of visual discourse. In short, they became professional subjects through the production of discourse.

In contrast to the TPIC, the NCWC had neither a journal nor a system of rules governing the production of a specialized discourse. Instead, their collective identity
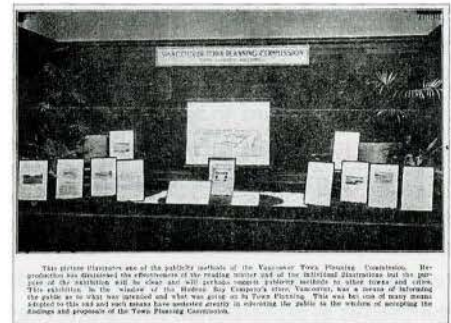

FIG. 4. "THE VANCOUVER PLAN," PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN. | *JOURNAL OF THE TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF CANADA*, VOL. 7, NO. 6, DECEMBER 1928, P. 154.

was founded on a common understanding of women's social roles, a similar social standing, and a shared commitment to reform work. Unlike the TPIC photograph, the group portrait of the NCWC was likely only available to attendees as a memento of the conference. Perhaps attendees would have framed the photograph for display in their homes or inserted it into their photo albums. In either case, the photograph would have been viewed in a domestic sphere, likely as evidence of the social commitment of its owner. The NCWC was a volunteer rather than a professional organization and, as an umbrella for dispersed local groups, it dealt in reports and correspondence, coordinating the activities of women in communities. In contrast to the TPIC, the NCWC's publicity work focused on producing and distributing pamphlets to raise public awareness on everything from tuberculosis and food inspection to sanitary sewage disposal and town planning.[57] As Griffiths explains, the NCWC "was about the action and influence of women in society, rather than about the pursuance of any particular program of reform."[58] The NCWC did not specialize in anything more specific than the betterment of society, and its activities were not limited to the development of the city. Subsequently, it did not develop an exclusive discourse that produced specialized forms of knowledge. The TPIC was a distinct professional community

that produced and reproduced discourse on planning according to the conventions of a restricted system with the aim of securing their claim to the city. The very lack of a journal or other means to disseminate the group photograph from the NCWC's 1924 annual meeting makes clear the institutional differences between the two groups. The TPIC members established themselves as professionals with a practice grounded in science, while the women of the NCWC were seen as volunteers filled with a passion for social progress.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS THROUGH VISUAL DISCOURSE

The scientific emphasis of the TPIC, which was at the root of its claim for both professional status and jurisdiction over the city, was authenticated through visual discourse. In April 1925 and again in February 1927, a drawing by A.H. Mottram, an assistant to the English town planner Raymond Unwin, was published in the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* (fig. 5).[59] Executed in the style of popular nineteenth-century city views, Mottram's bird's eye view appeared with the heading "The City Practical." As John Reps has shown, city views were used by civic officials, developers, and land speculators in nineteenth-century North America

FIG. 5. "THE GARDEN CITY PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO SUB-URBS," A.H. MOTTRAM FOR RAYMOND UNWIN. | FIRST PUBLISHED IN *NOTHING GAINED BY OVERCROWDING. HOW THE GARDEN CITY TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT MAY BENEFIT BOTH THE OWNER AND THE OCCUPIER*, LONDON, GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING ASSOCIATION, 1912; REPRINTED AS "THE CITY PRACTICAL," *JOURNAL OF THE TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE OF CANADA*, VOL. 4, NO. 2, APRIL 1925, AND VOL. 6, NO. 1, FEBRUARY 1927.

to attract settlers to urban centres.[60] However, rather than representing an actual city, this visionary drawing presents a model of an urban ideal. Using an imaginary viewpoint, the drawing positions the viewer over a belt of green space that runs along a river and opens onto a centrally-planned urban centre. In the distance, belts of open space surround other built-up centres, while a band of radial roadways connects each centre to the others. The drawing presents a particular concept of urban development based on careful research and provides a prototype for a scientific approach to planning.

The drawing was produced to illustrate Unwin's concept for planned and regulated suburban development, and Unwin initially used it in a lecture on town planning given at Manchester University, England, in 1912.[61] The drawing also appeared in Unwin's influential and widely read publication of 1912, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, where it was described as "The Garden City Principle Applied to Suburbs."[62] In both cases, the drawing was shown as an illustration of Unwin's ideal town. He explained the organization of this ideal town in the following terms:

> I venture to suggest that the ideal form of [a] town will consist of a central nucleus, surrounded by suburbs each grouped around some subsidiary centre representing the common life of the district [...] around which should be located municipal or administrative buildings, its places of worship, its educational, recreational, and social institutions [...] Between each of these suburbs there might well be reserved some belt of open space, parkland, woodland, agricultural or meadowland, which would at once define one suburb from another, and keep the whole of the inhabitants in intimate touch with ample open space.[63]

For Unwin, in 1912, the drawing was a model for putting the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act into practice. With its limitations on building density, the much sought-after legislation affected site design and the provision of roadways in suburban development.

In *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, the bird's eye view of "the garden-city principle applied to suburbs" was used to make a convincing case for Unwin's concept for new suburban developments. Unwin aimed to persuade politicians, investors, and the public to take up his plan for garden cities. The title of his publication, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, became a rallying cry for an approach to development that favoured light, space, and sunshine over tightly packed tenements and their attendant social problems. Planning historian Mervyn Miller has argued that, despite the books' inaccurate calculations, Unwin's concept had a strong influence on post World War I reconstruction in Britain.[64] It combined elements from Ebenezer Howard's and Camillo Sitte's visions for planned cities, along with aspects of Letchworth Garden City and Hampstead Garden Suburb—both of which were developments that Unwin played an influential role in planning and building.[65] The drawing was an important tool in publicizing Unwin's concept of garden city planning.

In 1922, Unwin used the drawing again, although this time it illustrated his paper, "The Overgrown City," delivered to the Russell Sage Foundation in New York. In 1924, a model based on the plan was shown by the Ministry of Health at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, London.[66] When Unwin used the image in 1922, he reframed it as "The City Practical." The "City Practical" ideal first emerged in relation to the Russell Sage Foundation's ambitious *Regional Plan of*

New York and its Environs, developed in the 1920s, which extended city planning principles to an entire region. Described by urban planning historian Peter Hall as "a businessman's plan,"[67] the *Regional Plan of New York* maximized opportunities for capital gains and attempted to manage the demands of real estate, finance, and industry.[68] Reproduced in relation to a regional approach to planning, "the garden-city principle applied to suburbs" acted as an example of strategic planning for an entire region. Thus, Unwin reframed his ideal in North American terms, and it became a practical vision of urbanism that could be applied on a broad scale.

How did the Canadian town planners become familiar with Unwin's practical vision of urbanism? Why was this particular image so appealing? There were direct connections between the Russell Sage Foundation and the TPIC, which facilitated an exchange of ideas. Thomas Adams, first president of the TPIC and former town planning advisor for the Commission of Conservation of Canada, became the director of the *Regional Plan of New York* in 1923; however, he remained influential in the professional organization after leaving Canada for New York. His views were highly regarded and widely known because he regularly attended conferences with Canadian planners and his reports and papers were published in the TPIC journal. In explaining his approach towards the plan, Adams stated: "the Regional Plan was to be no revolutionary prescription." Rather, it was a "set of mild controls on market abuses to aid efficiency," along with some "uncontroversial good things like new roads, parks and beaches."[69] Adams approached town planning, which by that time he often referred to as city planning, as if it were a scientific approach to managing cities.

In 1922, Adams laid out his concept of planning in an article called "Modern City Planning," which was first published in the American journal *The National Municipal Review* and was then discussed at length in the *TPIC Journal* shortly afterwards.[70] A compendium of the philosophy and practice of planning, the article was "a sociological plea for scientific order in the building of towns and cities on the ground that better order will promote human efficiency and human welfare."[71] For Adams, regulating land use was a key concern, and planning involved a rational and profitable use of space. Social concerns were secondary to economic efficiency. Planning involved the rather mundane matters of legislation, zoning ordinances, and policy initiatives, at least as much as it involved more radical changes like a reorganization of urban space, the provision of healthy housing, and the elimination of congestion and slums. Adams argued that it was crucial to survey and map all aspects of a city and its region in order to prepare a comprehensive plan. There should be maps to show the distribution of the population as well as the density and distribution of buildings; along with maps of street services such as water mains, sewers, and power lines; transportation systems such as railways, waterways, and harbours; a street traffic map of main arteries, level crossings, and railway intersections; and a land valuation map giving a colour-coded assessment of land values.[72] Adams laid out a notion of planning as the scientific management of the city, and his ideas appealed to Canadian planners.

The TPIC advocated a scientific approach to planning and, using Mottram's drawing for Unwin, they attempted to negotiate their right to become the scientific managers of Canadian cities. In the article that accompanied the reproduction of the

drawing in 1925, the editor of the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, Alfred Buckley, explained the goals of town planning:

> Town Planning is the scientific response to this genuine concern of the humanitarian [...] The town planner wants all men and women to have some chance of reasonable happiness, some touch with beauty and of the values of life, and he knows that as dwellers in the industrial city as we now know it, very few men and women have this chance.[73]

Described here as the scientific response to social reform concerns, Buckley put forth town planning as the solution to social ills. The drawing was reproduced as though it represented a new urban ideal for economically efficient planning, one that Canadian town planners could deliver.

Drawings, diagrams, and photographs were central both to the way planning concepts were worked out and to the way the status of those who used them was negotiated.[74] In conjunction with their bid for professional recognition and full employment, the practice of city planning became increasingly technical and scientific. Attempts to resolve the tension between the "sociological" and scientific methods of planning were negotiated through representations. At the same time, efforts to constitute a social identity were enacted through the professional journal. Both architects and, later, town planners, struggled to gain control over the urban environment and over a new, specialized field, through their deployment of visual discourse.

When the drawing was republished in the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* in 1927, it was again labelled "The City Practical." This time, however, there

was only a caption: "An example of scientific care as applied to City Building."[75] The adjacent article, again by Buckley, discussed the sociological importance of the planning movement and the extent to which town planning had become an applied science. The title of the article, "The Science of the Social Organism," drew on the commonly used analogy of the city as an organism.[76] In that case, the drawing was used to represent the unification of two facets of planning: the social and the scientific.

The management of urban space through economics and the ideal of a scientifically-planned city were challenging to the social and humanitarian ideals that planners claimed as the foundation of town planning. While the concept of town planning through efficient management maintained the basic precept that planning was a means of improving the conditions of people's daily lives, the approach to change was indirect. Instead of urban and social reform based on philanthropy, the "City Practical" sought reform through the controlled development of urban space in an economic system of free market capitalism. Mottram's drawing, which had been used by Unwin to convey both his concept for garden-city suburbs and his idea of regional planning, was taken up by the TPIC as the link between the humanitarian ideal of planning and the scientific approach in which planning was a form of city management. In short, Mottram's drawing was used to negotiate a shift from the humanitarian emphasis of reform work to the scientific basis of planning.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, town planners shared their terrain with a host of others who sought to impose their own desires onto the city. Planners were not only regularly challenged by city councillors, who often claimed that they themselves could do the work more cheaply, but the jurisdiction and professional status of planners were also called into question because they shared the realm of urban social reform with volunteer groups such as the NCWC. In contrast to the women's organization, the social and professional identity of town planners was founded on their claim to specialized knowledge, based in science. While both the town planners and the NCWC were concerned with many of the same things, the way they set about effecting change was polarized by contemporary notions of gender.

The most significant and effective ways that the NCWC instigated reform was through educational work aimed at raising public awareness and by lobbying governments for legislative or policy changes. Their focus on informing the public was not unlike the efforts made by professional planners to generate public support for town planning. The key difference was in their approach. On the one hand, town planning professionals sought to consolidate their power to shape the urban environment through the systems and tools of professionalism itself—in particular their institute, their journal, and their use of a specialized visual discourse. On the other hand, the women volunteers in the NCWC staked their claim to urban reform on their notion of what was natural for women.

NOTES

1. The author would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

2. Woodsworth, J.S., 1972, *My Neighbor*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 22, with an introduction by Richard Allen.

3. Foucault, Michel, 2000, « Space, Knowledge, and Power », In James D. Faubion (ed.) [Robert Hurley et al. trans.], *Power, The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, vol. 3*, New York, The New Press, p. 350.

4. Rutherford, Paul (ed.), 1974, *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase 1880-1920*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. xii.

5. On settlement houses, see Heyworth, Elspeth, 1986, *The Story of the Toronto Settlement House Movement, 1910-1985*, Toronto, Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services; and O'Connor, Patricia, 1986, *The Story of Central Neighbourhood House, 1911-1986*, Toronto, Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services.

6. Rutherford : xviii.

7. Kalman, Harold, 1994, « Town Planning », In Harold Kalman (ed.), *A History of Canadian Architecture, volume 2*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 643-676. On professional associations, see, for example: Simmins, Geoffrey, 1989, *Ontario Association of Architects: A Centennial History*, Toronto, Ontario Association of Architects; Crossman, Kelly, 1987, *Architecture in Transition*, Kingston and Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press; and Carr, Angela, 1995, « Professional Organization: Education and the Public Interest », In *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke. Redefining Canadian Architecture*, Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 154-209. On planning history in particular cities, see: Lemon, James, 1989, « Plans for Early 20th-Century Toronto. Lost in Management », *Urban History Review*, vol. 18, no. 1, p. 11-31; Gordon, David, 1998, « A City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 Plan for Ottawa and Hull », *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 13, p. 275-300; and Vanlaethem, France, 1998, « Beautification Versus Modernization », In Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (eds.), *Montréal Metropolis 1880-1930*, Toronto, Stoddart and Canadian Centre for Architecture, p. 133-151. On the planning activities of particular architects, see, for example: Wolfe, Jeanne M. and Peter Jacobs, 1991, « City Planning and Urban Beautification », In *The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell*, Introduction by Robert G. Hill, Montréal, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, p. 50-55; and Simpson, Michael, 1985, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940*, London and New York, Mansell.

8. van Nus, Walter, 1975, *The Plan-makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939*, PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto.

9. See Adams, Annmarie and Peta Tancred, 2000, *"Designing Women": Gender and the Architectural Profession*, Toronto, University

of Toronto Press; Tardy, Évelyne, Francine Descarries, Lorraine Archambault, Lyne Kurtzman, and Lucie Piché (eds.), 1993, *Les Bâtisseuses de la Cité*, Montréal, Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences; and Wolfe, Jeanne M. and Grace Strachan, 1988, « Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montréal Parks and Playgrounds Association », In Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy (eds.), *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, p. 65-80.

10. For example: Krueckeberg, Donald (ed.), 1983, *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*, New Brunswick (NJ), The Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University; Schultz, Stanley K., 1989, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press; and Peterson, Jon A., 2003, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*, Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press.

11. The difference in American and British terminology is discussed later in the article. For examples on British planning, see Hawtree, Martin, 1981, « The Emergence of the Town Planning Profession », In Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *British Town Planning: The Formative Years*, Leicester, Leister University Press, p. 64-104. On the connection to housing reform, see Tarn, John Nelson, 1980, « Housing Reform and the Emergence of Town Planning in Britain Before 1914 », In Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800-1914*, London, Mansell, p. 71-98; and Cherry, Gordon, 1996, « The Birth of Town Planning », In *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900*, Oxford, Blackwell, p. 17-42.

12. Examples include: Stimpson, Catharine, Elsa Dixler, Martha J. Nelson, and Kathryn B. Yatrakis, 1980, *Women and the American City*, Chicago, Chicago University Press; Hayden, Dolores, 1981, *Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighbourhoods, and Cities*, Cambridge, MIT Press; Birch, Eugenie Ladner, 1983, « From Civic Worker to City Planner: Women and Planning, 1880-1980 », In Donald A. Krueckeberg (ed.), *The American Planner, Biographies and Recollections*, Routledge, p. 396-427; Wirka, Susan, 1996, « The City Social Movement: Progressive Women Reformers and Early Social Planning », In Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver (eds.), *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University

Press; Spain, Daphne, 1992, *Gendered Spaces*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press; and Spain, Daphne, 2001, *How Women Saved the City*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

13. Aylesworth, M.B., 1888, « The Need of Organization », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 7.

14. See Crossman's discussion (p. 17-24) of the preference for American architects.

15. Crossman : 39-50 and 85-86. A registration bill, the Architect's Act, was finally passed by the Ontario Legislature in 1931. Also see Simmins, Geoffrey, 1989, « The Architectural Guild of Toronto and its Legacy: Incorporation of the OAA », In Simmins, *Ontario Association of Architects...*, p. 25-46.

16. Crossman : 85-89; and Wells, Arthur, 1898, « The Ontario Association of Architects and What It Should Do », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 11, no. 3, p. 50.

17. « Guild History », *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1911, p. 2-3; and *Report of Plan Committee*, Toronto Guild of Civic Art Annual Meeting, March 30th, 1906, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Toronto Reference Library (TRL), SR 48, Box 2.

18. For further discussion of the Civic Guild, see Carr : 154-169.

19. Toronto Civic Guild, 1911, « The Guild and Its Aims », *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 1.

20. Ford, Howland W., 1907, « Improvements for the City of Toronto », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 111.

21. In 1901, the NCWC pledged "to do all in their power to promote [the] organisation" of playgrounds, which they were convinced would improve the lives of children in Canadian cities. (Library and Archives Canada, National Council of Women Fonds, MG 28 I25, vol. 105, file 10.)

22. One example is J.S. Woodsworth, who argues for comprehensive planning in « The Making of a City », *My Neighbor*, p. 27-42.

23. *Minutes of Executive*, March 1912, December 1913, September 17, 1914, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, Box 1.

24. van Nus : 55.

25. On the Commission of Conservation, see Armstrong, Alan H., 1968, « Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation », In, Leonard O. Gertler (ed.), *Planning the Canadian Environment* Montréal, Harvest

House, p. 17-35; and « Act Establishing the Commission of Conservation », *Report of the First Annual Meeting Held at Ottawa January 18-21, 1910*, Ottawa, The Mortimer Co., 1910, p. vii-viii.

26. van Nus : 67.

27. Ontario Association of Architects, « Every Man to His Profession », *Construction*, vol. 13, no. 8, p. 262. Emphasis in the original.

28. See Hynes, J.P., 1924, « Address by Retiring President », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 9.

29. van Nus : 327-328.

30. Larson, Magali Sarfatti, 1977, *The Rise of Professionalism. A Sociological Analysis*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p. xvi.

31. Abbott, Andrew D., 1988, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press, p. 9.

32. *Id.* : 194.

33. « Growth of the Town Planning Institute», *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 75.

34. Whitney Chadwick (2007 [4th ed.], *Women, Art, and Society*, London, Thames and Hudson, p. 7-8) discusses Zoffany's portrait of the British Royal Academy in order to make the point that men and women have been positioned differently in art history.

35. For a social history of the formation of the TPIC, see van Nus (p. 89-90), where he argues that engineers became increasingly interested in planning in the 1920s as a new source of work. Their conventional sources of employment were scarce because of a decline in real estate development. For an account of the TPIC's history from one of its president's, see Hynes (p. 9).

36. The new header for the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1923, p. 1.

37. The "City Beautiful," an ideal formulated in relation to Daniel Burnham's and Edward Bennett's plan of Chicago for the 1893 World Colombian Exposition, was a vision that involved establishing a harmonious social order through the aesthetic arrangement and physical beauty of the city. On the attempt to change public perception that planning meant creating a "City Beautiful," see « Canadian Town Planning », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1924, p. 1-2;

and Ewing, James, 1924, « The Status of Town Planning in Canada », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 9. Also see von Baeyer, Edwinna, 1986,« The Battle Against Disfiguring Things: An Overview of the Response by Non-Professionals to the City Beautiful Movement in Ontario from 1880-1920 », *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 3-9.

38. The "Garden City" ideal originated with Ebenezer Howard's 1898 book, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, which was reissued in 1902 (London, Faber and Faber) under the title *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. In it, Howard outlined his vision for the reconstruction of a capitalist society into a series of co-operatively-run urban centres. Howard himself was a social visionary rather than a planner or an architect, but his ideas were taken up by planners.

39. « Town Planning Institute of Canada Act », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 2, no. 6, 1923, p. 2.

40. For example, the group portrait from the 36th annual convention in Saskatoon, held from May 27 to June 1, 1929, was taken on the steps of the Central Methodist Church. A number of group portraits can be found at Library and Archives Canada, National Council of Women of Canada Fonds, R 7584-1-2-E, Box B04858.

41. *What the National Council of Women of Canada has done: being a report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held in connection with the Local Council of Women of Ottawa, February 1896*, Ottawa, Thoburn and Co., p. 11.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Griffiths, Naomi Elizabeth Saundaus, 1993, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993*, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, p. 51.

44. *Id.* : 27.

45. « Canadian Town Planning Gets Under Way », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1926, p. 1-3. The article notes that women had recently been appointed to the Vancouver Plan Commission.

46. « Women's Part in Town Planning », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 4, no. 5, 1925, p. 21-22.

47. *Id.* : 21.

48. « Town Planning Institute of Canada Act », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 2, no. 6, 1923, p. 2.

49. « Town Planning Institute », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1920, p. 1.

50. Nobbs, Percy, 1922, « Planning for Sunlight », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 2-3.

51. Lawson, Harold, 1926, « Montréal Town Planning Exhibition », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 6-7.

52. « The Vancouver Plan », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 7, no. 6, 1928, p. 154.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Seymour, Horace, 1927, « Presidential Address », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 86-89. Seymour compared the TPIC's current approach to that of the National Conference on City Planning, which was the group that organized annual planning conferences in the United States.

55. *Ibid.*

56. This point is clear from the header for the journal and numerous articles published in it. See: *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1923, p. 1; Ewing, James, 1925, « The Engineer and the Town Plan », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 4, no. 5, p. 19; and Dalzell, A.G., 1929, « The Attitude of the Engineer Towards Town Planning », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 46.

57. Shaw, Rosa L., 1957, *Proud Heritage. A History of the National Council of Women of Canada*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, p. 48.

58. Griffiths : 49-50.

59. « The City Practical », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 3. Also see *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1927, p. 45; and Miller, Mervyn, 1992, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester / London / New York, Leicester University Press, p. 134-135.

60. Reps, John W., 1998, *Bird's Eye Views. Historic Lithographs of North American Cities*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, p. 8.

61. Miller : 134.

62. Unwin, Raymond, 1912, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding. How the Garden City Type of Development May Benefit Both Owner and Occupier*, London, Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.

63. Unwin, Raymond, 1912, « The Town Extension Plan », In Paul Waterhouse and Raymond Unwin, *Old Towns and New Needs: Also the Town Extension Plan: Being Warburton Lectures for 1912*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 47-48. (Cited in Miller : 134.)

64. Miller : 129-133.

65. The English Garden Cities, Letchworth and Welwyn, and the Garden Suburb of Hampstead adapted many of the physical, if not the social, aspects of Howard's ideal. Raymond Unwin and his partner Barry Parker were the architects and planners for Letchworth and Hampstead, and Unwin was very influential in adapting Howard's vision into a physical form. (Miller : 135-136.)

66. Miller describes the exhibit as elaborate. A model built on the layout in the drawing was compared with an unplanned medieval town, and the chimneys produced smoke to show the effects of pollution when housing and industry were in close proximity. (Miller : 136.)

67. Hall, Peter Geoffrey, 1998, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design*, Oxford, Blackwell, p. 156.

68. Fairfield, John, 1993, *The Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design, 1877-1937*, Columbus, Ohio University Press, p. 147-148.

69. Hall : 156; and Simpson : 135-136.

70. « Modern City Planning », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1922, p. 11-13.

71. *Id.*, p. 11.

72. *Id.*, p. 12.

73. « The City Practical », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 3.

74. For more on the significance of visual discourse in the emergence of the planning profession in Canada, see Bassnett, Sarah, 2007, « Visuality and the Emergence of City Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto and Montréal », *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 21-38.

75. The City Practical », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1927, p. 45.

76. Buckley, Alfred, 1927, « The Science of the Social Organism », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 6, no. 1, p. 44.